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ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES  
(CLASS OUTLINE)


INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL



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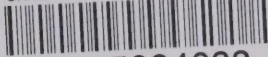
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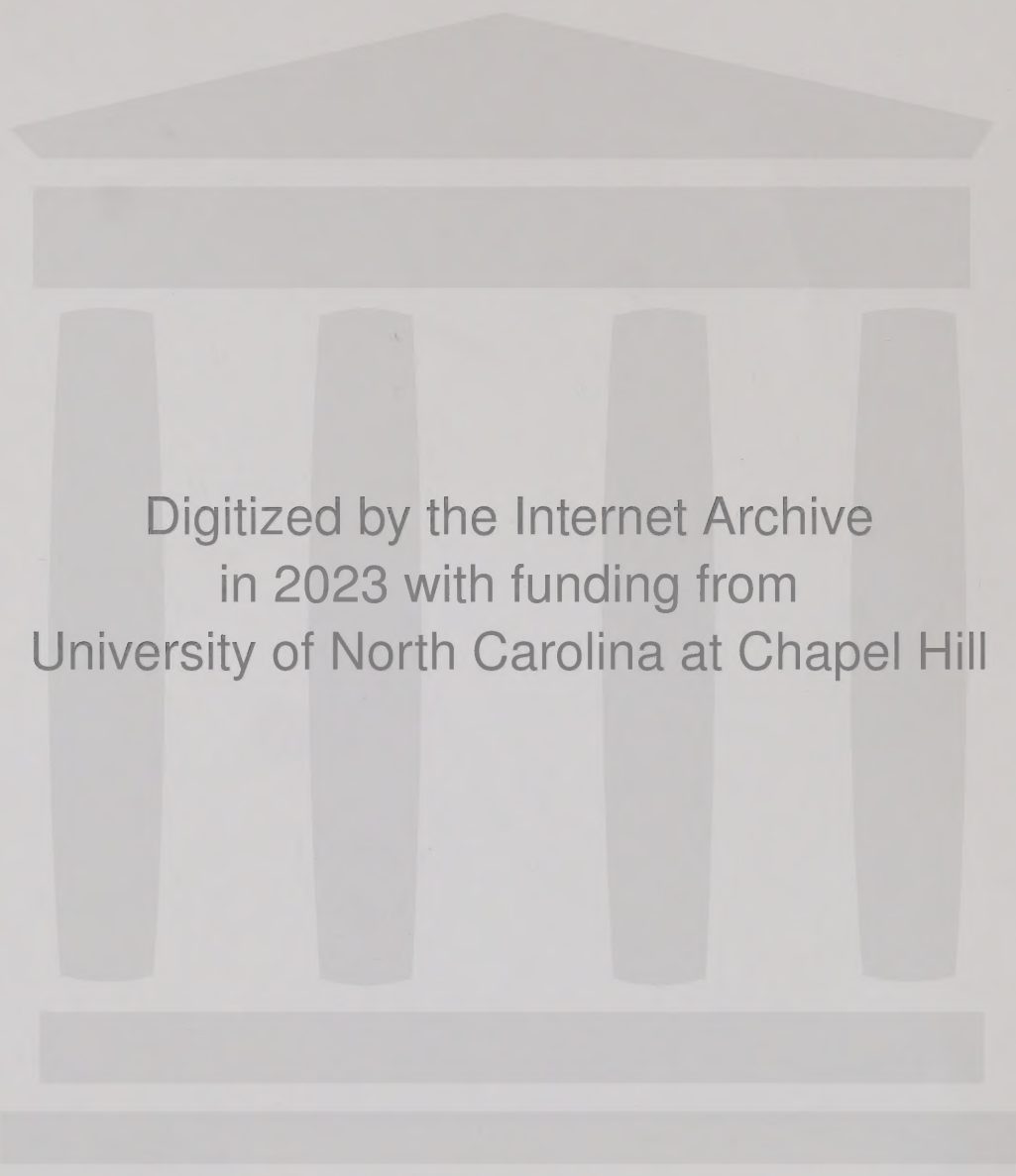
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# International Workers School

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## CLASS OUTLINE

### *ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES*

The INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL is a national institute of the Workers Party of the United States with headquarters in New York City. At present the school is establishing classes for workers in every important industrial center of the United States. Each year a national training school will be held in New York.

The policy of the INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL is to provide centers for the teaching of Marxism, to enable the worker students to understand the relationship between theory and practice, and to arm the active militants for the class struggle.





## LESSON I

### PARTY ORGANIZATION

#### 1.--Aim

- a) This course concerns itself with the role and nature of The Workers Party and how it functions.
- b) We are organized for the ultimate purpose of achieving the Social revolution and building the Communist society in which class struggle will cease.
- c) Our movement is international and hence requires the guidance of an International. The Second and Third International having betrayed the international working class, we are now engaged in helping to build the Fourth International to guide the Workers' movement towards the World Revolution, just as we have organized the Workers Party of the United States.

#### 2.--Role of the Party

- a) Need of a political Party  
There can be no revolution without one. The struggle is a political one, a struggle for State power. (The Paris Commune; no Communist Party in existence, its weakness) The ultimate struggle is an armed struggle for political power. The directives of the revolution--and towards the revolution--must come from an organized force, a head, not from hopeless bodies. The Party forms the vanguard of the class.
- b) The Workers Party is the organized, conscious brain of the working class movement. It represents all of the interests of the workers. It takes a general historical outlook on events yet participates in all immediate actions of the workers. The Workers Party is the political fulcrum for moving the masses.
- c) The Party represents a class, but is a Party.
- d) The Workers Party unifies all forms of the working class and semi-working class movements; i.e., unions, cooperatives, cultural societies, election campaigns, etc. It is the gathering center. Shapeless workers' unions cannot suffice in place of Party. A head is required to the body.
- e) To present a united, a concentrated view on issues demand a Party! Many organizations, denying the name of Party, yet functions as such, for example, the I.W.W. in its early days.
- f) The Party must have mass contact and consciously penetrate all organizations--but Party action is always independent.
- g) The union, party and soviet are the main instruments used by workers and peasants in their struggles.
- h) The Party is necessary after the revolution to direct it and consolidate it, by giving leadership to the Soviets, the Workers Councils. Only when classes disappear and communism is attained, will the Party no longer be required.

#### 3.--Kind of Party

- a) The Party organization must be adapted to the goal of its work. It is the vanguard of Communism in the pre-socialist period as well as in the transition period.
- b) The form of organization varies with the given situation in each country, but within certain limits. The general similarity of workers struggle creates the basis for a common organizational form for the Marxian Parties everywhere. These organizations are formed for struggle; to combat the ruling capitalist class. The problem of organization is that of preparing the Party for the best way to fight for revolution.
- c) Leadership: The Party is the leader of the masses must itself have capable leaders, trained in struggle and theory. It is the task of the Party to educate, organize and train its members to lead. Leadership in the struggle demand stability and mobility, adaptability and yet granite resistance and Gibraltar steadfastness on the party of leading organs and members. Mass contact is absolutely essential.







d) What is the organizational form to bring those results about? What is the unifying factor? A democratic centralized Party.

#### 4.--Democratic Centralism

a) Broad definitions: democracy or the rule of the rank and file. Centralization: Delegation of powers to units, etc., chosen by the rank and file.

b) The principle of proletarian democratic centralism is:

I. The election of upper Party units by those immediately below (exceptions during illegality period)

II. Unconditional subordination of subordinate units to the decisions of those above them.

III. A strong party central organ whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of the Party life between Party conventions.

c) To make centralism and democracy a dynamic unity demands common activity and struggle from all members.

More formal or mechanical obedience and discipline will not serve the purpose.

d) There must be recognition by the members that the leading bodies are efficient instruments for mass activity and struggle.

e) No contest for power in itself is allowable in the Party. Only discussion and contest for carrying out principles and tactics are permissible.

f) The Party does not rule over the masses; it guides them.

g) The leadership and the members of the Party are one and the same. It is not like the government and the people under capitalism in which the government and the functionaries are separated from the masses in outlook, aim and interest.

Nor can there be such a situation as active functionaries and passive membership.

The Party leadership must have contact with the members and the members and leaders with the masses.

The Workers Party is a training ground for Marxism and revolution. Branch officers should be elected by the membership and a check up and right to criticize is the membership right at all times.

(Read the entire Chapter on Principles of Organization of C.I. in Theses of Third Congress)

#### 5. Discipline

a) The Party convention elects the National Committee which is the ruling body between conventions. Similarly is this the case down the line among the districts, cities, etc. This may vary slightly depending upon the objective circumstances.

b) All decisions of the Party are binding not only inside but outside of the Party: for example at union conventions, labor party gatherings.

c) The shop nucleus is the ultimate basic unit of the Party where organized now, they are the basic units. The territorial branch at present is also a basic Party unit.

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THE BRANCH

1. The organization of the Branch. That is, gathering together of the members.

Election of officers. The following officers can make up the officials of the branch:

a) chairman, b) secretary, c) financial secretary, d) education director, e) literature committee, f) New Militant committee, g) defense director, h) Young Spartacus, i) women's work director, j) Negro committee, k) ticket agent, l) social, sports and drama committee, m) workers' correspondence, n) special committees, o) industrial organizer.

Note: The extent to which all of these officials can be obtained in the branch depends upon the size of the branch and its functioning. Nevertheless, the endeavor should be made in time to move toward the fulfillment of the above. In fact, every member of the branch in accordance with the demands for individual activity shall serve on some committee. If unable to have all the officials listed above, then the most immediate ones should first be obtained; such as, secretary, literature and New Militant committee, industrial organizer and educational director.

2. Functions of the Branch Executive Committee.

a. THE BRANCH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE generally can be composed of the following officers: chairman, secretary, financial secretary, industrial organizer, literature and New Militant agents. (in small shop units or branches, of course, executive committees can be smaller)

- b. HOW THE BRANCH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SHOULD FUNCTION.

- a.
  1. It must meet regularly.
  2. It must be responsible for drawing up the agenda of every branch meeting beforehand.
  3. It must keep minutes or records of its transactions.
  4. At the meeting of the Branch executive committee, communications from The Party or auxiliary bodies should be read or else a summarized report given to the executive.

Officers (members of or in charge of some committee) of the branch who are not members of the branch executive committee, if they receive communications directly, communicate contents to the branch executive committee, either before the meeting or by their own presence at the branch executive committee.

b. The secretary of the branch executive committee shall have a correct list of the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of the branch in order to be able to reach them at once for any necessary regular or special meetings.

The Branch Executive Committee shall act on all communications and any other business it may handle and recommend definite actions for the branch meeting.

The Branch Executive Committee shall receive the reports of the officers and the work of the individual members and make recommendations and reports to the branch meeting.

The most live and energetic comrade of the branch executive committee shall be selected to make a summarized report of the work and recommendations of the executive committee to the branch.







c. He shall present all proposals and recommendations in the form of concrete motions. Then all such motions or proposals shall be acted upon sercatin by the branch.

There should be no unnecessary delay at the branch meeting in acting upon the executive committee proposals. The chairman should be fully acquainted with the agenda and proposals and hence prevent delay in execution.

If discussion is required on certain proposals, a member of the executive committee should initiate the discussion in order the more easily to draw the members into the discussion. Many motions will not even require discussion, and while there should be thorough discussion when necessary, there should be no unnecessary talk.

The Branch Executive Committee shall concern itself with the development of the work of the individual members of the branch and as a branch. It shall receive, for example, reports through the industrial organizer of the work of the individual members in the trade union field, specific and general work in the unions, etc; whether work carried on was of an exclusively industrial or also political character. A summarized report of such activities shall be made periodically to the branch (the detail work of the various officials will be given below).

d. The officers, either of the Executive Committee or of the Branch generally, shall not report each time at the branch meeting, but shall make a report when required to the executive committee.

However, when the Executive Committee lists a special point on the agenda of the branch, such, for example, as industrial work, then that official shall make a special report and the general report, excluding this one, will be made by the other reporter.

There should be a special report at every branch meeting.

The Branch Executive Committee must know the qualifications of every member of the branch; where the member is working, etc. and what kind of special work the comrade wishes to participate in. Work should be assigned to such comrades accordingly.

The individual members of the branch should be called before the Executive Committee, either 1,2 or 3 at every committee meeting, depending upon the efficiency of the executive committee. There the Executive Committee should discuss with the individual members the work they have carried on in various fields and assign future tasks. In this fashion, also, there will be a periodical check-up on the activities of every member of the branch.

The Branch Executive shall keep the record of those individuals' reports and shall, say at the end of every six months, summarize these individual reports and give to the branch a report of activities for the past period. Such a report could consist of, for instance, number of members in trade union, literature distribution, leaflets, pamphlets, subscriptions secured for various papers, activity in mass organizations, and all other work. In this way, the branch gets in the habit of reviewing its work and can outline its future work.

The Executive Committee shall, of course, check up on dues and other financial requirements of the members.

The Executive must know the shop or shops in its territory, unions, fraternal organizations, halls, etc. and be in a position to arrange meetings in various places, to arrange distribution of literature, shop bulletins for shop units, leaflets, etc. as occasion arises.







The Branch Executive shall assign every member, with rare exceptions, to cover a union or like organization with some literature at regular times.

The Branch Executive shall work out ideas for getting new members. In taking up the work of the individual members, it shall find out whether the comrade is following up particular work, either through the shop, union, visiting a worker with literature, New Militant, etc.

The Executive Committee shall maintain proper connections with the Spartacus Youth Clubs, section and district and other necessary Party committees.

The Executive Committee shall arrange special branch affairs, entertainments, open education meetings, etc.

If a shop unit is issuing a shop bulletin, the Executive shall be responsible that a functioning editorial committee is established for getting stories from workers; shall take up the question of distribution and finance of the bulletin.

The Branch Executive Committee shall be responsible that distribution of tickets, collection of dues, distribution of literature, does not take up any of the time of the branch meeting but that such work is done on the side at the meeting, quietly, or else before, after or between meetings.

(It must be noted, in closing on the matter of functioning on the Branch Executive, that no branch will function unless its Executive committee functions.

The above may be a rather difficult program to put into effect immediately in some branches, but nevertheless, the general basis is correct for the best purposes; instead of trying to go at anything haphazard, the branch executive shall systematically and patiently proceed to put the above methods into effect. It may take a long time, but it will prove the most effective for the functioning of the branch.)

### 3- THE AGENDA OF THE BRANCH

The agenda of the branch is, of course, variable. Naturally this is so because the Party work is carried on in so many fields, but it is necessary that the branch shall organize its work and shall systematize such an agenda.

First, it must not be cluttered up. Through the Branch Executive Committee, it should be understood that only one or two main points are to be taken up at any meeting. Too many points will clutter up the meeting, cause endless delay, confuse the comrades, and result in nothing of real value being accomplished.

On the other hand, a short, simple agenda, while not taking up every so-called important thing at once, will at least result in something effective and necessary being accomplished and will give the comrades the necessary confidence and stimulation for further and additional work. Hence, briefly, the agenda could be made up something as follows:

- 1- Opening of meeting by regular chairman or election of chairman.
- 2- Reading of minutes by the secretary.
- 3- Announcement of meetings, affairs, etc. by







comrades selected by the Branch Executive or organizer. To avoid delay by announcements by numerous comrades, organizer should beforehand collect announcements.

(Note: Collection of dues, tickets, literature, etc. to be handled as indicated before).

4- Report and recommendations of the Executive Committee by organizer or specially elected reporter.

5- Action on report and recommendations of the Branch Executive committee.

6- Report on special point on agenda (like the industrial report or any other report selected by the executive committee).

7- Shop reports by individual members.

(Note: Emergency situations may arise which will necessitate a change of the proposed agenda, but ordinarily only one or two main points shall be acted upon at the meeting.)

Communications, except on extremely rare occasions shall not be read.

Reports shall be discussed and prepared beforehand.

Meeting shall adjourn early.

Educational period. Each branch should arrange to hold educational meetings each month or arrange to devote part of each meeting to such depending upon business and conditions. Comrades should be assigned to report on the subjects the week before, when it is announced to the whole membership.

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## LESSON 3

### BRANCH COMMITTEES

1. Organize the inner Party structure first. Build in the main centers, large industrial cities, etc. Stretching the wings to the breaking point is no aid to Party functioning. Merely results in mushroom organizations.

2. The National Committee:

The N.C. establishes itself into a political committee which takes up all political and organizational problems arising in the course of the class struggle, the united front campaigns; creates a special committee, if needed, for all Party work, such as negro, women's, anti-militarism, trade union, etc.

The N.C. must remain in close touch with the lower units and this helps to prevent bureaucratic developments.

The N.C. or Political Committee demands reports from all lower units, organizers, etc.

It sends circulars, speakers, special representatives to special conferences.

All its orders are obligatory upon all Party members and units.

It has control of the entire Party press, addresses, all lower Party bodies, auxiliary bodies, etc.

The N.C. may change the work of comrades, such as an editor to an organizer.

The N.C. deals through the districts, but if necessary directly with the lower units.

The N.C. permits minority representation on the N.C.

The Political Committee may form a Secretariat from its numbers to handle special tasks, such as finances, apparatus activity, underground contacts and organization and such other matters as may require instant attention, etc.

The N.C. or P.C. deals with problems on a national scale even as an International deals with problems from an International viewpoint.

The only cure for abuse of power and formalism is an active, educated membership, conscious of equality of all Party members, having mass contact and making it possible for the N.C. to know the problems of the workers.

There must be confidence in the National Committee elected or there is no effective work accomplished.

The District Comm. performs similar functions to the N.C. within its sphere, but has more direct contact with members through city centrals and members.

The D. E. C. members themselves are more in the field.

It departmentalizes its work, submits reports to the N.C., etc.

3. City Central Committee

a) The City Central Committee is the leading political body of the city and is composed of delegates







b) City Executive Committee

The City Central Committee, if such exists, elects a city executive committee which is the active and directing group of the city activity.

It meets regularly and submits recommendations and reports to the city central committee.

It departmentalizes itself and receives reports from all subsidiary departments.

It organizes all the work, such as the political activity, which is the carrying out of the Party program in and outside of the Party (It may have a political committee).

It takes up the local issues such as the election campaigns, recommending an election committee, drawing up a program.

It seizes all local events which may further the Party prestige by its participation, such as the problem of injunction, wage cuts, municipal issues, trade union work, strikes, etc.

The City Executive Committee is really the main functioning local Party Committee.

The Secretary of branch or CCC should have a correct list always of his connections and maintain them so. Keep an extra list safely hidden for any emergency, such as loss, police raids, etc. Have the necessary technical material always at hand, such as paper and pencil.

In reading the minutes make yourself heard by all. Don't bother to write up complete minutes during meeting, write only notes or motions. Preserve papers carefully.

The secretary should inform sub-committees of their appointments in time and the business to be taken up. Make the minutes short, but include all important matters. Keep in touch with other secretaries.

Branch secretaries or organizers should keep city informed of all affairs and activities and city secretary keep city committee and branches informed. Branch and city send out other minutes.

The treasurer or financial secretary should see that all bills are promptly paid. Have accounts audited regularly. Collect dues promptly, report status of members, have policy on finances.

The Chairman of any meeting should start meetings promptly. Business meetings should be as precise as possible. Keep discussion to the point, no drifting from the subject. No delay for waiting for unnecessary motions and seconds. Have order of business before you and know beforehand what will be taken up. Know revolutionary procedure; no fooling with technicalities but get the business done in the most satisfactory way for the members.

The Branch Organizer should acquaint himself with all new members. Should get to meetings of other organizations and get them to attend our public meetings. Arrange discussion with such bodies. Oversee and instruct branch heads; make sure of proper registration of each member. Arrange for house to house and factory campaigns with the branch committee; the sending of letters, literature, magazines, etc., to prospective members.

Establish close relations with the youth. The matters mentioned here in reference to functionaries apply both to national and city officials in the Party.





## LESSON 4

### BRANCH ACTIVITY

#### 1- THE VANGUARD

"and first of all, the question arises: Upon what rests the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat? How is it tested, controlled? How is it reinforced, strengthened? Firstly, by the consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the Revolution, by its steadiness, spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to mix with the toiling masses, to become intimate with and to a certain extent, to fuse itself with the proletarian masses primarily, but also with the non-proletarian toilers. Thirdly, by the soundness of the political leadership, carried out by the vanguard, and by correct political strategy and tactics, based on the idea that the workers from their own experience may convince themselves of the soundness of this political leadership, strategy and tactics. Without all these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party, really capable of being a party of the advanced class whose object is to overthrow the bourgeoisie is impossible of realization. Without these conditions, all attempts to create discipline result in empty phrases, in mere contortions." -- Lenin

#### 2- BRANCH MEETINGS AND BRANCH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The active functioning of a branch depends in the last analysis on the branch executive committee. If the branch committee is on the job, making definite recommendations for branch work, meetings, laying out the work and handing it out, arranging for proper division of political, trade union, educational and other work, getting the sub-committees on the job, selecting comrades as delegates to May Day committees, Labor Defense, etc. the branch will function. (Dealt with in detail above).

SOCIAL, ATHLETIC, DRAMATIC ACTIVITY should perhaps be combined under a general affairs and entertainments committee which meets regularly to map out features in accordance with the special program and activity to be held. The Youth especially must be awake to the importance of these phases of activity in their development.

#### 3- INDIVIDUAL SHOP REPORTS.

One of the best and outstanding ways to engage the Branch in matters of external activity is through shop reports by each member of the Branch at regular intervals. This is a tested and workable method.

As a mandatory place on the agenda of each Branch meeting, the Branch, proceeding alphabetically with the membership, has two members arrange to report for about fifteen minutes on conditions, - wages, hours, unionization, attitude of fellow workers, etc. - in the shop.

Discussion and questions follow the shop report, and in almost each case, the branch is able to consider the specific problems of the comrade's trade or industry, and perhaps to make good suggestions and proposals for activity in this shop. The branch finds itself concerning itself with external industrial and political questions, instead of dry routine, internal matters or merely academic discussions.





TECHNICAL WORK: Comrades should not underestimate the importance of technical ability and should select comrades who have capability in this direction. For instance, neat, not slip-shod mimeographing, typing, etc.

REPORTS BY MEMBERS: Submitting reports is one of the very important function. These reports should be both special and general.

Party and other committee reports should be based not only on personal experiences and activities but on general observation of daily incidents, events in unions, etc. and making recommendations accordingly to the nucleus or another unit.

Better making of reports is required in all units from top to bottom.

4- ORGANIZING A MASS MEETING: Speakers, place, time, character of audience, literature, lights, heat -- all should be considered on time.

Be on the job early.

Special committees for advertising, literature, putting up posters should be selected. Select chairman beforehand who is not over-talkative. Do not pester the speakers; they want to be left alone. Have standing collection and literature committees and a committee to maintain order. A live ticket selling committee is important. Members should set example by remaining seated, quiet, maintaining order.

5- ARRANGING GENERAL AFFAIRS:

These affairs have many things in common, such as refreshment requirements, music, entertainment committee, social director, advertising and propaganda, collection and literature squads. An entertainment should allow plenty of time to complete all arrangements, such as acquiring talent, sale of tickets, etc. Affairs are generally for purposes of raising money. Keeping this in mind, a small affair in our own headquarters may be far more successful than a large hall where the overhead costs are high. Utilize the talents of members to greatest degree for entertainment. Successful smaller entertainments will lay basis for a big entertainment splurge about once a year.

6- MAY DAY AFFAIRS:

Situation will determine whether such an affair will be organized directly by the Party or whether it will be a united Conference to which other organizations are invited and affiliate, participating on a common basis. Otherwise the meetings are organized on the same basis as other meetings.

A genuine United Front May Day is our aim.

DEMONSTRATIONS: Careful planning is required, experienced Party members are needed. Party men must be scattered through the crowd. Everywhere demonstrations demand mobile and self-sacrificing leadership. Get comrades who know a crowd, who will recognize when the affair is at its highest pitch and who know purpose of demonstration and act accordingly.

Of course, really successful demonstrations should be based on large factories. There should be long preliminary verbal agitation or leaflet distribution. Everything should be carefully planned with the comrades who work in the factory.





7- INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS:

Activity - The first requisite of a Party member must be a subscriber to the Party paper. Should be put on some committee in the organization; attendance at meetings obligatory. Activity in shop through literature distribution is the least that can be expected of a comrade. Must be expected to make shop reports regularly.

8- FACTORY CAMPAIGNS:

Factory campaigns can be conducted through the street or shop organization; or industrial committees, preferably through a united committee of these bodies.

The most suitable factory should be carefully picked, contact with comrades therein made, best time selected for the distribution and sale of literature or holding of meetings, etc. (Dealt with further under the point of agitation and propaganda.)

9- THE PRESS - Literature - Leaflets

Special committees should be elected to take care of these.

Press - It shall take up the matter of covering factories, mass meetings, unions and house to house work. The Press is the organizer and unifier of our work. The workers' press is not run on capitalist methods.

10- Literature for meetings of all kinds, unions, mass meetings, etc. should be selected with care. Know your meeting and select your literature accordingly.

There should be special squads at all times for getting subscriptions, for the distribution of samples, for the placing of press or other literature in stores, stands, getting renewals, etc.

If given out within a special area, the name of the branch, or, if not inadvisable, the name of the shop nucleus, should be stamped on each piece of literature.

In selling literature, special articles should be pointed out to the prospective buyer, slogans which appeal to one's interests.

There should be regular meetings of agents. The agents should read the literature themselves carefully so that they will know what they are trying to sell.

Special groups of members should be organized for house to house campaigns in the various languages.

The Party aims to demonstrate to the workers that the Party is with them in its struggles and capable of leading them.





The Party takes up trade issues; attempts to draw in the unorganized workers through our activity and get them into the unions or other organizations; to get them to read the party press.

All members of the organization are expected to participate in these elementary but basic phases of agitation and propaganda. This is a Jimmy Higgins type of work in which everyone, at one time or another, is able to do effective work.

Agreements with the organization's program is only a beginning for each member. The acceptance of a Marxian program is only the expression of the will to become a Marxian revolutionist.

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## LESSON 5

### PARTY FRACTIONS

#### 1. Fractions

The members of Workers Party of the U.S. must be active in the class struggle, especially within trade unions, and unemployed organizations. For this purpose and to obtain the greatest amount of results all members of the Workers Party who are members of a trade union, unemployed organization, workers' club, defense and relief organization, etc. etc., must organize into a fraction of the Workers Party. The collective activity of the comrades within the workers organizations and the coordination of these fractions together on a national scale enables greater effectiveness in coping with the class struggle, and in defending the workers interests. They are the most effective means of fusing the Party and the class together and connecting links of the Party to the class through its organized workers.

#### 2. The Fraction and The Party

a. A fraction of the party existing within a workers organization, trade union, workers club, etc., at all times functions under the jurisdiction of the party branch or next highest body that has jurisdiction over the fraction. There are two dangers that must be guarded against: On the one hand, there are the difficulties of mechanical control, whereby decisions are handed down without any understanding of the special problems of the fraction, or action taken that harm rather than help the fraction work. To avoid this the fractions must make regular reports to the proper committees of the branches thereby keeping them informed of the actual situation. The branches must see that capable comrades are placed in charge of each field of activity.

b. The other danger confronting the fraction is the inability of the comrades of the fraction to coordinate their work with the party branch work, giving no information or satisfactory information to the party as well as refusing or not adequately carrying out party decisions for fraction work.

c. If a dispute arises within the fraction and it cannot be settled within the bounds of the fraction the final decision rests with the party branch or party committee parallel to the fraction. The fractions of the party within the different workers organizations are organs to execute plans of the party. The fractions do not have power to decide policy. Policy is decided by the party and its sections, National Committee, District Committee, or Branches. Within the framework of the Party policy in a given situation the fraction functions and decided all details and does not bother the other party bodies with such, except for regular written reports. In case of disputes and where new conditions develop where the tactics and strategy must be changed the decisions rest with the party; to be carried out by the comrades of the fraction. Of course, if a fraction of a particular branch think that the policy adopted by the branch on a specific issue is false they should take this up with the next highest body.





### 3. The Fraction and the Workers' Organization

One side of the problems of the fraction is its relation to the party; the other side of the problem is its relation to the workers' organization in which it is functioning. The first essential of a functioning fraction is to see that the comrades of our fraction are active and loyal workers within the specific organization. That is- active and loyal within the organization in the interest of the working class. The fraction comrades within a trade union, etc., must be realistic and know the actual conditions and how to co-ordinate that with the program of the Workers Party in the light of the conditions. Each situation must be analysed and action adopted for such. We cannot present blue prints for this no more than we can for other complicated class problems.

### 4. The Fraction and the Left Wing and Progressive Groups.

a. If the comrades of the Workers Party are active within the workers organizations our comrades will come into contact with scores of workers who agree with us on our program for their organization as well as many other points of our declaration of principles. However, many of these workers at the start will not be ready to join us. They will be sympathetic to us and will watch our actions. They will even work with our members in their organizations and even welcome us as members of the Workers Party. For this purpose it is necessary to organize a left wing or progressive group within those workers organizations that are under the control of reformists or reactionary forces. To organize such a progressive group our comrades do not demand that these workers swallow our whole program. Rather, together these workers are members and others work out a program for their organization.

b. Our comrades must guard against mechanical control of the Progressive group. Our comrades must be the most active in carrying out of the Program of the progressive or left wing group. The party fraction comrades must guard against the Stalinist concept of mechanically bringing to the Progressive group meetings comrades of the Party who are not members of the workers' organization in which the fraction and progressive group function.

c. This does not mean that our active trade union, etc., members shall take a negative attitude and at all times demand that all party members who are not members of the workers' organization at no time can sit and discuss with these workers their problems. This depends upon the ideological level of the progressive group and the tactfulness of the comrades. All of the reactionary and reformist leaders and groups within the trade unions and other organizations obtain constant aid and advice from the politicians of such political parties, through one means or the other. To object to the methods used by the Stalinists is one thing; to object to this procedure in principle is another thing, and entirely wrong.





## 5. The Function of the Fraction

a. The party fraction within the workers' organization must organize itself. Depending upon its size it must elect a secretary and an executive or steering committee and meet regularly to plan its work. It goes without saying that this work must be based upon a policy adopted for the concrete situation- a policy within the frame work of the general policy of the Workers Party for the field of activity, ie., trade unions, unemployed, defense, fraternal organizations, etc.

b. The fractions should report regularly to the party branches or proper committees. This does not mean that all details of the fractions shall be taken up in the branches. Important decisions and action should be reported to the proper committees of the party and on special occasions a report to the membership of the branch or city wide membership be given. This is especially necessary in strike struggles or unemployed workers struggles, etc., where the fraction needs the aid of the whole Branch.





## THE TRADE UNION POLICY

### I

#### TRADE UNION AND POLITICAL STRUGGLES

1. The struggle of the workers in their trade unions against exploitation involves the workers in a struggle against the capitalist, their labor agents in our ranks, and the capitalist state, (injunctions, anti-picket laws, syndicalist laws, the police, the militia, courts, the NRA and labor boards, etc.). No matter in what form the political aspects of the struggle take shape the fact remains that every economic struggle is a political struggle. Since the adoption of the NRA even the smallest industrial dispute involves some form of state intervention against the workers in behalf of the bosses.

2. The political "independence" of the trade unions does not exist. It is a myth. Under the cloak of trade union "independence" the A.F. of L. leaders conceal their support of the capitalist candidates and the control of these unions by the capitalists in one form or the other. Under this cloak the syndicalist attempt to rid the movement of "politicals" but behind this fetishism is concealed the struggle to subordinate the unions to their influence. The syndicalist organization is an embryo party.

3. The question of leadership cannot be solved by ignoring or denying and fighting against the "politicians". The question cannot be solved by fighting for autonomy. It can only be answered by considering the program and tactics of the "politicians" and proving the fallacy of their policy. Real autonomy of the trade unions is opposed to mechanical control and instead must be based upon ideological control.

4. The freedom of the unions from capitalist class or class collaboration can only be solved by a struggle against capitalism and their agents and to replace their politicians and agents with working class politics--not the denial of politics. The question of trade union leadership in the last analysis can only be settled by posing a correct policy against a wrong policy.

5. For this an understanding of political tendencies within the trade union movement and within each local union is essential. The struggle in the trade unions revolves around the struggle among the reactionaries, the social reformers and the revolutionaries. Concealed below these three main currents is a number of crystallized political tendencies that vary from local union to local union and within each given struggle, which must be unearthed if a proper policy is to be formulated.





## II THE FUNCTION OF THE TRADE UNIONS

1. Trade unions are the elementary organizations for the defense of the economic interests of the working class. In the first stage, when the unions were being formed they were ~~new~~ powerful weapons for the class struggle and became instruments for semi-revolutionary upheavals. In the growth period of capitalism, with reforms on the order of the day the reactionary agents of the capitalist class gave expression to the policy of class collaboration. This kind of action was developed to its highest degree under the rule of social-democracy. Its most despicable form is expressed by the reactionary A.F. of L., labor leaders.

2. In the period of revolutionary overthrow the unions can become powerful auxiliary instruments of the party and the Workers Councils for overthrow. After the period of overthrow, in the period of transition economy the unions become instruments to help reorganize and reconstruct society upon the socialist mode of production.

## III TACTICS AND STRATEGY

### 1. Organize the unorganized.

To win the unions primarily means to organize the unorganized. At present the great majority of the American working class is unorganized. The few million that are organized are in the A.F. of L., and the four big brotherhoods and a number of independent unions. The workers in the basic industries, the semi-skilled and the unskilled and doubly exploited Negro workers are in the main unorganized. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNORGANIZED INTO INDUSTRIAL UNIONS BASED UPON CLASS STRUGGLE IS OUR PRIMARY TASK.

### 2. Work in reactionary unions.

The syndicalists and ultra-lefts who refuse to work in reactionary unions and who leave these millions of workers to the mercy of the agents of the capitalist have a policy that plays into the hands of the exploiters of labor. It is our duty to carry on our struggle within the A.F. of L., and other independent unions that are in control of reactionary leaders. SYSTEMATIC WORK WITHIN THE REACTIONARY UNIONS.

### 3. A trade union educational center.

We do not make a fetish of the A.F. of L.--we have no illusions in regard to the labor leaders in the reactionary unions. Expulsions are their best weapons against the workers who demand a class struggle policy. On the other hand, we do not object on principle to unions outside of the A.F. of L. The revolutionists go where the masses are. We do not isolate ourselves from the masses because we have a fetishism on organizational tactics. The successful struggle against the capitalists, and their labor agents cannot be carried through unless we learn how to coordinate our work in reactionary and class struggle unions. A PROPER COORDINATION OF OUR WORK IN REACTIONARY UNIONS AND IN INDEPENDENT CLASS STRUGGLE UNIONS THRU THE ORGANIZATION OF A TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL CENTER IS ESSENTIAL.

### 4. Tactics of the independent unions.

The independent industrial unions must change their tactics in relation to the A.F. of L., depending upon the relation of forces; i.e., to maintain their independence for united action in strike struggles, for amalgamation, or for entry en bloc; not for the purpose of splitting away minorities. not to gain mechanical control (to be





in office with out being in power) but to win the majority of the workers to class struggle and to retain ideological leadership. Under no circumstances can the entry take place upon the basis of principle concessions, i.e., give up leadership of locals the leftwing control, remove left wing leadership, renounce class struggle policy, etc.

#### 5. A National Progressive movement.

The Workers Party must consider the trade union activity as the most important activity, and the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions based upon class struggle as the main axis within this policy. For this purpose a trade union education center ~~with~~ subordinate the work in the reactionary unions with the work in the independent class struggle unions is needed.

The progressive and left wing forces must unite and form a Progressive Trade Union Organization. Such a group must be organized in each local and welded together within the industry, and in turn organized as a national progressive movement.

#### 6. New conditions and a new leadership.

An entirely new condition confronts the labor movement. Capitalism can no longer grant reforms. Decay capitalism grants concessions only upon the basis of the most bitter class struggles. The whole foundation of the labor aristocracy has been swept away. The skilled strata of labor has in the main been wiped out. The labor leaders are in a mad race to obtain a new basis for class collaboration. We must defeat them in this attempt. *What*

With the crisis a leveling process within the working class has proceeded, between skilled and unskilled, between employed and unemployed, between American born and foreign born, between white and black workers. The Federal Unions have made gains and the industrial unions are slowly pushing aside the craft structure.

All this has laid the basis for a new labor movement, a new leadership, and new trade union tactics. For this a national progressive movement is needed. It must wage a class struggle policy to wipe out the Company Unions. And above all it must organize the workers for strike struggles. It must always remember that the fight against the bosses in strike struggles demands a fight against the Labor Boards and the right wing reactionary labor leaders. This does not mean to turn your back to them. You negotiate with the bosses for settlement, you negotiate with the Labor Boards and you will have dealing with the right wing--but you do this with the understanding that you are dealing with enemies of the strike and not friends.

#### 7. Unity of the employed and unemployed workers in struggles.

#### 8. AMALGAMATE THE CRAFT UNIONS INTO INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

#### 9. ORGANIZE THE SHOP MEETINGS AND THE SHOP COMMITTEES AS THE BASIC UNITS OF THE UNIONS.

#### 10. FOR A CLASS STRUGGLE POLICY AGAINST CLASSCOLLABORATION.

11. Every struggle of the workers in the unions must be fought on two fronts at once if victory is to be obtained. A struggle against the capitalist and their reactionary labor agents in our ranks must be carried on.

### IV

#### WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE UNIONS

1. The class conscious workers must fight to maintain a high standard of workers' democracy within the unions. We must fight for rank and file control of the unions. This does not mean "rank and file leadership". There is no such thing. We must carry on a struggle to defeat the agents of the capitalists in our ranks and the gangsters.





This can only be done if workers' democracy exists. A consistent struggle against Jim Crowism must be carried on at all times. We must fight any attempt at mechanical leadership and fight for ideological control.

## V

### SECTION 7a AND THE LABOR BOARDS

1. The crisis and the new class relations in America demanded a broad class collaboration base for the bosses if they are to succeed with their new plans of reorganization of industry for greater profits upon the basis of a reduced wage level for the workers. For this purpose the A.F. of L., was entirely too narrow, confined to the skilled upper strata. The workers in the basic industries had to be drawn into the plan through Company Unions or safe sane reactionary unions.

2. Section 7a of the NRA was to accomplish this purpose. An extensive machinery of labor boards and arbitration was needed to hold in check the rising tide of Labor and organize these struggles into safe channels. To the degree that the workers pressed for organization they would be organized. First the bosses would endeavor to maintain the status-quo. To keep the workers unorganized. If this failed they would hand them the Company Union. The Company Unions have sprung up like mushrooms since the NRA. If these traps failed then the next step was to organize them into the A.F. of L., under the control of the reactionary labor leaders who were brought into the class collaboration apparatus in this "national emergency" just as they were in the war period.

We attack this structure from the left. The A.F. of L. leaders attack it because it does not extend the class collaboration machinery far enough. But we know the capitalists will only apply these brakes to the degree of sharpening class struggles. The workers cannot expect gains under the NRA. Its results besides those mentioned above are:

- a. The closed shop is outlawed.
- b. The Company Unions are legalized.
- c. The hours of the codes are entirely too high.
- d. The minimum wage is entirely too low. This minimum is now the maximum.
- e. The real wage of the workers has been reduced.
- f. Prices have increased, and the standard of living has been reduced.
- g. Arbitration is the keystone based on class collaboration.
- h. Strike breaking by the trinity of the bosses, their government class collaboration machinery and the labor agents in our ranks has become a work of art.
- j. Unemployment has not diminished.

The workers in the unions must answer the NRA and section 7a and the Labor Boards with increase strikes and class struggles for the defense of our interests. The class collaboration plan of Green-Lewis-Hilman must be rejected. What is needed at the present stage is preliminary steps to prepare the groundwork for the slogan of "Nationalization of the Industries and Workers Control of production",  
These are:

- a. The organization of the unorganized into industrial unions of class struggle and the carrying out of our trade union policy.
- b. Planned strikes to force through the workers demands.
- c. Unity of action of the trade unionists and the unemployed millions.
- d. Functioning shop meetings and shop committees of the unions, and organization of shop committees in every unorganized mine, mill, and factory as the first step toward the organization of these workers.
- e. Demand open bookkeeping of all employers books with regular public reports on production, profits and wages.
- g. Build and integrate the Workers Party and its members into the trade union movement and its struggles.





## LESSON 7

### 1- THE ORGANIZATION OF A UNITED FRONT CAMPAIGN:

The barest outline for a United Front campaign is here given. It will be observed that additional and specific points can be made. But the points mentioned are generally applicable organizationally to all united front movements. Also, in some respects these points are affected by the kind of united front movement involved; that is, whether the united front movement will have an extended duration or is brief.

### 2- POLICY

The Party, through communications to and direct relations with the lower Party units, such as districts, cities, branches, etc., and through all its press, shall indicate the purpose of the united front campaign it is initiating. Thereupon there shall begin an intensive agitation in all labor organizations -- unions, cooperatives, fraternal bodies, women's organizations, youth organizations, etc. for a united front campaign for the given demands.

### 3- ORGANIZATION:

1- The efforts to build a United Front movement on a national scale must proceed both from above and below, efforts first being made to draw the national central labor and other bodies into the initial proposers for a united front movement, including the working class political parties.

2- Locally, united front conferences on the given issues shall consist of organizations of labor, fraternal bodies, poor farmers, etc.

3- Special efforts should be made to draw into these conferences organizations of workingclass women, youth organizations, etc.

4- The call for these conferences should be issued by the organizations, including the Party, adhering to the purposes of the proposed united front. It is understood that preliminary efforts will have been made to work out an agreement on specific points between the organizations first sponsoring the united front before the call to all labor, fraternal, etc. organizations is made.

5- The date for issuing the call for the conference will depend upon whether sufficient agitation has been raised in favor of such a campaign. Premature calling of such conferences must be guarded against.

6- The Central Committee or National Committee of the Party must be kept regularly informed, at least through weekly reports, on the development of the campaign in each locality.

7- The course of development of the united front movement must be carefully guided. Among other things, general mass meetings, indoor or outdoor, leading up to large general street demonstrations of all participating bodies, must be organized carefully keeping in mind the gradual growth of the movement.





8- Our Party and youth fractions will all the while be functioning for our line in whatever other organizations they belong to. The functioning of our fractions will be taken up under the lesson on functions of fractions.

4- UNITED FRONT CONFERENCES:

a- The organizational development of the united front can take on various forms. Temporary agreements between organizations on one or several demands, or a bloc in struggle that covers a whole series of demands.

b- When the united front conference is called the delegates do not come to these gatherings to hear propaganda speeches. The leaders as well as the delegates who take part in the deliberations must be instructed to save their propaganda speeches for the masses they want to bring into the folds of the united front. Delegates must confine themselves - and especially those in charge of the conference - to the program of action and how to carry out the program of action. What to do and how to do it is the job of the conference.

5- FROM BELOW AND FROM ABOVE:

a- The united front with the leaders and the united front from below are both wrong. A united front must be between organizations of the working class (or between political tendencies, groups and factions, etc.). You do not appeal organizationally from below. You do bring pressure on the other organizations from below to force the organization into the united front. The other organizations must select delegates through their regular organizational channels regardless of whom they select. You try to obtain the most suitable left wing delegates but you have to take what you get -- what they elect.

b- The united front between organizations is to win the rank and file (from below) and to expose the misleaders in action (above). This concept of "below" and "above" has nothing in common with the united fronts from below or with leaders or individuals.

6- NON-AGRESSION PACTS:

a- The reformists and misleaders will prevent a united front as long as possible, but the mass pressure and conditions sooner or later compel them to make concessions in this direction. If forced into this position they immediately attempt to set up provisions which will guarantee them from the evils of exposure. One of their most effective methods is the "non-agression pact." They demand that while the united front exists the organizations must refrain from criticizing each other. If the Workers Party would agree to the non-agression pact, then the misleaders would be sure to retain their political position.

b- In the critical French situation the Stalinist and Socialist parties have formed a united front that has as its basis the non-agression pact. Both leaderships need this cover. Such can only be a caricature of the united front.

c- The right of minority expression must be guaranteed at all time. The right of political expression must not be stifled.





7-

IS IT PROPER TO BREAK A UNITED FRONT:

A United Front is only a temporary agreement on immediate demands in action between two or more parties and must be preserved as long as it functions for the class interest. If the development of the struggle and the united front for one reason or the other is transformed from the basis of class struggle to class collaboration and the reformists and right wing obtain the upper hand and are about to betray or sell out -- it is the duty of the Marxists and the revolutionists to point out and to warn the masses of the danger, and if it cannot be corrected -- then the left wing must break the united front before the betrayal.

8-

THE MARXIST CONCEPT OF THE UNITED FRONT:

a- The purpose of the united front is (1) to bring to bear the greatest amount of working class pressure possible against the capitalist system and (2) to gain our class objectives and immediate class interests, (3) to train and educate the masses and their organizations in action, (4) to expose in action all misleaders, agents of the capitalists, and opportunists and (5) to win the rank and file to class struggle and to the Workers Party.

b- The leadership of the Workers Party, the revolutionary party, in the united front cannot be guaranteed in advance; it must be won in action. The united front must at no time result in a compromise on principles.

c- The united front is (1) a temporary agreement, (2) between working class organizations, (3) on immediate demands, (4) in action, (5) under which each organization retains its organizational independence, (6) refrains from slander and personal attacks, or from mechanically dragging in issues not clearly involved in this united front (7) maintains the right of minority expression and political criticism, (8) no exclusion of working class organizations (9) and continues the effort to bring within the united front those organizations that refuse to participate.

d- The organization with a Marxian program, the Workers Party has nothing to lose and everything to gain by united action of the working class. Marxism will stand all tests in theory and in practice.

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THE PARTY AND THE CLASS

## a. The role of the party

The revolutionary workers must draw a sharp distinction between the concept of the party and the class. The party is the instrument of the oppressed class, the working class, for instilling socialist ideology throughout the class struggle, for the final overthrow of the capitalist system. At present in the United States the state is the instrument of the exploiting, oppressing class and through this instrument and other organs of the capitalist class bourgeois ideology is instilled throughout all classes for the maintenance of their hegemony and control.

## b. Material for exploitation.

The class taken by itself is only material for exploitation by the capitalists. The workers assume an independent role only when, from a social class they become a political class for themselves. This can only take place through the medium of the party.

## c. The class for itself.

The party is that historical organ which is created by the vanguard of the working class and by means of which the class becomes class conscious. Without a revolutionary Marxian party the class in itself cannot be transformed into a class for itself.

## d. Socialist Ideology.

Without an independent political party, the working class is like a body without a head. The class cannot become class conscious by itself, that is to say completely imbued with socialist ideology. Only the party can bring class consciousness into the class struggle as socialist ideology. Only the Marxian party can turn the class from raw material for bourgeois exploitation into the historical agent for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of socialism. The revolutionary Workers Party is the organized political instrument by means of which the working class and its allies are able to coordinate and advance its class position. The party is a part of the working class. But it differs from the general mass of the workers in that it is completely permeated with socialist ideology.

## e. Safeguarding the Party Ranks.

The party must be formed of the best, most intelligent, self-sacrificing and far-seeing workers. Not all of the advanced workers can be organized into a centralized political apparatus at the same time; they reach class consciousness in different ways, at different times. It is not the working class as a whole that participates in the creation and the development of the party, but only the advanced section, the vanguard. The dilution of the party by the inclusion of sections of the masses who are still permeated with bourgeois ideology must render the party unfit for its historical task and its day to day activity in the class struggle. To the degree that workers can be assimilated.

## f. The party and Revolution.

The party is not only necessary to the working class in the struggle for power, it is also essential after power is obtained, and during the period of transition to a classless society. Without the party the working class cannot seize power and hold it, no matter how favorable all of the objective factors may be. Lacking an organized and experienced party the workers will meet defeat no matter how heroic and self-sacrificing they may be. Without a revolutionary Marxian party, with a capable leadership, a correct program, there cannot be a successful social revolution.

## g. Theory and Action.

A Party cannot be satisfied with the best of programs. A Marxian program is the first step but in itself is not sufficient. The party must know how to apply this program to the conditions within the country, within sections of the country, within given struggles and within different stages of the class struggle. The correct application of the program will enable the party to reach the masses. On this basis, theory and action are coordinated into one in application.





## LESSON 9

### THE PARTY AND THE WORKERS COUNCILS

#### a. The Workers Councils.

The fundamental instrument of this struggle for power, forged in the course of the united action of the workers, will be the Workers Councils (Soviets). The Councils organize the masses for revolutionary assault as well as being the organization form of the state power after victory.

#### b. Workers Power.

It is through the Workers Councils and not the existing government apparatus that the workers will take power. The working class must smash the state machinery of the capitalist class and in its place establish its own state power.

#### c. Propaganda of the slogan of the Workers Councils.

It is always in order to explain what form of government the working class will establish.

#### d. Slogan of action.

As a slogan of action the demand for the organization of the Workers Councils must be carefully issued. You cannot wait until the class is ready for an insurrection nor can you throw out the slogan at will. The slogan should be issued when the revolutionary period is at hand, not on the eve of uprising. The task of the Councils is not merely to issue a call for the insurrection but to prepare the masses step by step. When ever the slogan has been issued for the arming of the workers the slogan for the creation of councils should be put forward.

#### e. Relation to the Party.

Unless the revolutionary Marxian party, the Workers Party, gains wide influence and the majority within the Councils they will be unable to function as instruments for the workers interests. The party must lead the struggle through the Councils as well as the trade union movement.

#### f. Relation to Dictatorship.

The Councils are the organizational form of the workers rule which can be nothing else than the Dictatorship of the working class as against any and all who would destroy the workers rule.

#### g. Relation to democracy and dictatorship.

The Soviets function as the dictatorship against the exploiters and their agents and assure democracy for the working class, just like any capitalist state, no matter what its form may be, is a dictatorship against the workers and other oppressed classes and is a democracy for the capitalist (not even all of the capitalist- at that).



#### h. Development of the Councils.

The Councils cannot be organized over night. At first they may take on the shape of broad united front committees around the question of arming the workers, workers control of industry, strike committees, etc., and lead the masses on partial issues but as the struggle develops and the masses are involved in greater numbers the Soviets begin to function on a higher plane.

#### i. Types of Councils.

The types of these councils will be primarily Workers Councils, Peasant Councils, and Soldiers Councils, all organized together under the Central Council on a national scale.

#### j. For whose interest?

The Soviets led by the Menshevik and Social Revolutionists were in Kerensky's days the last political resources of the bourgeois regime. At the same time, the Soviets, above all in the form of the Bolsheviks, were the crucible of the dictatorship of the Proletariat which was in the course of preparation. The present day Soviet apparatus is a bureaucratic, plebiscitarily distorted form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

#### k. Dual Power

In the period just prior to the overthrow of the capitalist power the Councils under the leadership of the Workers Party will grow in mass influence and strength and thereby constitute the stage of dual power.

#### l. Form of the American Workers Councils.

With the working class of various categories conditioning a majority of the population, with a highly developed economic system, the establishment of our class rule through the Workers Councils in the U. S. will assure a higher level, at the very start, than our comrades in backward Russia were able to establish; insuring far more workers' democracy and at the same time, a more effective dictatorship against our exploiters and world capitalism.





## LESSON 10

### THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

#### I

### THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL (1864-1874)

#### 1. Theoretical basis of the internationals.

The theoretical base upon which the first, second, and third internationals were formed has been Marxism, which in each case played a progressive role for the working class, in a certain period of capitalist development. In fact, these internationals played a progressive revolutionary role as long as they translated into action the theories of scientific socialism and became stumbling blocks in the road of the march of labor to the degree that they revised the basic Marxian concepts.

#### 2. The internationals and capitalist development.

The first three internationals in the main played their decisive role in three stages of capitalist development. The first international became the rallying center when the proletariat began to play an independent role in the class struggle. The Second International took form and grew with developing capitalism--whereby it inherited all the vices of this lazy growth period of capitalism and the aim of tomorrow for the overthrow of capitalism gave way to the practical reforms of today. The Third International was the outcome of the World War and the victorious October revolution in the stage of capitalist decline.

#### 3. The first international communist organization.

Already before the 1848 revolutions there existed a secret international organization known as the Communist Federation. Marx and Engels were its leaders. This organization and its leadership gave to the world the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO a document that laid down the basic concepts of the revolutionary working class movement.

#### 4. The First International.

The International Workingmen's Association was organized in 1864 and has since been known as the First International.

#### 5. Policy of the First International.

The First International was torn by internal struggles over policies throughout its life. This revolved primarily around the Communists led by Marx, and the Anarchist led by Bakunin. In the main it was an international organization of revolutionary propaganda groups rather than a mass organization of workers. The petty bourgeois currents in the First International were expressed by Bakuninism, Proudonism, and English trade unionism.

6. In 1871 the First International took part in the Paris Commune and after this first great heroic struggle of the workers for power, and after its defeat the reactionary forces persecuted the international in every land. This was the beginning of its end and the transfer of its international office to New York was to no avail and only enabled it to obtain a "peaceful burial". With all its shortcomings the first international blazed the way and fulfilled a service for the working class that cannot be underestimated. The First International collapsed in 1874, a few years after the Paris Commune.





## THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL (1889-)

## 1. The birth of the Second International.

After 1871, when capitalism was developing industry on a gigantic scale, when combines were becoming the new commanding giants, when the redivision of the earth among the leading powers was already becoming a struggle for a new redivision, the working class movement took strides forward in organizing their union movement. Upon this wave of capitalist upswing the socialist parties began to grow, and in 1889 an international conference of these parties was held and organized the Second International.

## 2. It flourished in the period of capitalist growth.

In the absence of convulsive revolutionary struggles, in the period of gigantic capitalist development the socialist parties placed all emphasis on reforms of today and practically forgot, except for verbiage, the revolution of tomorrow, and thus became reform parties.

## 3. Policies.

The revision of Marxism on the question of the state, which includes their reformist concepts on the road to power, the dictatorship and parliamentary action and the revision of the Marxist concept on the colonial question laid the basis for its defeat. In reality, it became the white international. From these false theoretical concepts flowed a multitude of strategical and tactical errors--which led to defeats and betrayals.

## 4. The collapse of the international.

The Basle (1912) decisions to oppose war and to organize socialist revolts in case of an imperialist war was ignored when war broke out. The defense of the fatherland, pacifism, and social patriotism prevailed. From then on it was clear to the revolutionaries that no matter how large the parties, no matter how large the mass following the fact remained that the Second International could NOT BE REFORMED, could NOT BE USED AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR REVOLUTION.

## 5. Factions in the war period.

All of the large socialist parties supported their "fatherland" in the war with few exceptions (Switzerland, Italy, Russia, Serbia, etc.) The factions opposed to war were divided into two main camps: the left wing; Lenin and the Bolsheviks, Trotsky, Rakovsky, Luxemburg, and the later Spartacists, a section of the Italian, etc; The centrists: Kautsky, Longuet, Mac Donald, Lodebour, Hilquit, Martov, etc. The left wing stood for a revolutionary struggle against war; the centrists advocated disarmaments and no break with the Second International.

## 6. Revival of the Second International.

Since the war, the October revolution and the development of the Third International, the Second International has taken on new life, in spite of its betrayals and exposure. This period of a new lease on life ran parallel with the growth of Stalinism within the Third International until the Fascist victory in Germany. This again focused attention upon the bankruptcy of the Second International (and the Third International) and has crystalized an intense factional fight within the socialist parties.



### III THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL (1919-)

#### 1. The birth of the Communist International.

The World War and the Russian Revolution is the living background of the organization of the Third International that replaced the bankrupt Second International.

2. The Zimmerwald (Switzerland) conference called in September 1915 by the Italian and Swiss socialist party was the first anti-war international conference held during the war. Mixed elements attended. The conference adopted resolutions condemning the pro-war socialists, urging the workers to unite for socialism and peace and ignored the question of criticizing the International Socialist Bureau. Lenin's resolutions on, "Convert the imperialist war into civil war," and an outright break with the Second International were rejected overwhelmingly.

3. The second conference was held in Kienthal (Switzerland) in March 1916. Again Lenin's resolutions were defeated, supported only by the extreme left. However, the resolutions passed were to the left of those passed at the last conference: Denounced for the first time the social nationalists, the bourgeois pacifists, called peace an illusion under capitalism, criticized the International Socialist Bureau. These two conferences laid the foundation for the third international.

#### 4. The October Revolution.

The victory of the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky and the establishment of the Soviet government placed Russia in the forefront of the international working class movement and made possible the basis for the organization of a new international based upon Marxism.

#### 5. The Third International.

The Third International was organized in 1919 upon the basis of revolutionary Marxism and continued to hold that place for the first four congresses, up to the (1923) defeat in Germany, at the same period the Lenin died and a struggle against Trotsky, by the right-center block began.

6. From then on Stalinism began to grow and the Third International under this leadership became the leader of revolutionary defeats instead of victories. They revised Marxism, and developed the theory of socialism in a single country, abandoned the principles of democratic centralism and discarded the concept of workers democracy.

7/ The right-center block lasted until 1929 when Stalinism took a left tactical turn and then expelled the right wing that formerly helped the Stalinists expell the Left Opposition. This left zig-zag (red trade unions, united front from below, social fascism, etc., etc.,) lasted until 1934. After the German defeat and the victory of Fascism the C.I. swung to the right (abandoned its third period tactics, capitulated to social-democracy on the non-aggression pact, pacifism etc., etc.)

### IV

#### THE NEW (FOURTH) INTERNATIONAL

#### 1. The need of a new international.

Despite the evident disintegration of world capitalism as an economic and social system, the workers movement of the world is now passing through a deeper crisis than after smashing the Paris Commune, or during the imperialist war.





Two working class parties of the most industrial country of Europe, the social-democratic and the Communist party which led behind them 13 million voters, capitulated without a fight before Fascism. Two internationals, were subject to the test and proved bankrupt. A new revolutionary international is needed. A Fourth International based upon Marxism that takes up the struggle where the other internationals left off is needed.

We are committed to the formation of this international.

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